1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area. 423

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative. 423 593 605 [428]

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides. 423 593

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land. 423 656

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan, 423 618

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

APPENDIX 2

Kinship Terminology for Cousins in Hsin Hsing

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In the accompanying lists of kinship terminology for first cousins used in the Hsin Hsing area, it can be seen that the terms of reference for all first cousins have three Chinese characters. The character in the third position is in actuality a sibling term and is used for all types of cousins as well as for siblings; it varies only on the basis of sex and age. For example, *hsiung*, older brother (under kinship chart and list numbers 9, 14, 38) or *mei*, younger sister (under chart and list numbers 13, 17, 44) would be used in this position. These characters, however, are not very important in distinguishing relationships since they are also used rather indiscriminately by the villagers (and Chinese generally) as courtesy terms for many people with whom no kinship relationship exists. However, the other two terms or characters are significant, since they do indicate important distinctions beyond that of sex and age, between the four types of first cousins.

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The most significant distinction between types of first cousins is that of bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins (father's brother's children) and the other three types of first cousins: patrilateral cross-cousins, matrilateral cross-cousins, and matrilateral parallel cousins. This distinction is indicated in the kinship terminology by the first two characters used. *Only* patrilateral parallel cousins have as their first two characters *shu pe* (meaning paternal uncle and noted under kinship chart and list numbers 18 and 21).

The other three types of cousins are designated by two different characters which sharply distinguish them from patrilateral parallel cousins. The second of these two different characters is always "*piao*" (loosely translated as "outside" relatives and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 41, 44, 45, 47, and so on). This term is applied to descendants of female relatives on the father's side and to descendants of mother's brothers as well as mother's sisters.

In the latter three types of cousins (all of which have the middle character "*piao*"), we again find bifurcation indicated. This time, according to informants, it is the first character which distinguishes patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins from matrilateral parallel-cousins, at least in the Hsin Hsing area and also generally in the west-central coastal area of Taiwan. The first character for both types of cross-cousins is "*ku*" (meaning girl or parental aunt and found under kinship chart and list numbers 14, 17, 45, 47, and so on). Only the matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

as a first character *"I"* (meaning wife's sister and mother's sister and found under the kinship chart and list numbers 41, 44, and so on). 601 605

Therefore, in order to categorize the Chinese system of kinship terminology for first cousins, we must consider the following: (1) the initial and most significant bifurcation between patrilateral parallel cousins and the other three types of cousins (the patrilateral parallel cousin is also the only one with whom marriage is, of course, strictly forbidden), and (2) the secondary bifurcation between the patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousins and the matrilateral parallel cousins (a distinction apparently not found universally throughout China or even throughout Taiwan). This secondary bifurcation, which, terminologically, actually tends to separate matrilateral parallel cousins from both types of cross-cousins as well as from the patrilateral parallel cousins, is also indicated in the fact (as seen in the body of Chapter 5 and in an accompanying note) that while the villagers have these kinship terms for matrilateral parallel cousins, in actuality many of them do not apply the terms to their matrilateral parallel cousins. Rather, they think of them merely as *ch'in ch'i* (relatives), so that Hsin Hsing villagers say that marriage to a matrilateral parallel cousin is the closest one can come to marrying a stranger. Such is clearly not the case for any of the other three types of cousins.

Diagramatically, the distinctions between reference terms for the four types of cousins can be briefly shown as follows:

Bifurcation
- A–Patrilateral parallel cousins
- Patrilateral cross-cousins
- B–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- Matrilateral parallel cousins

Bifurcation
- 1–Patrilateral cross-cousins
- 1–Matrilateral cross-cousins
- 2–Matrilateral parallel cousins

	Examples	
Patrilateral parallel cousins	FaBrSo	*Shu pe hsiung*
	FaBrDa	*Shu pe mei*
Patrilateral cross-cousins	FaSiSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	FaSiDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral cross-cousins	MoBrSo	*Ku piao hsiung*
	MoBrDa	*Ku piao mei*
Matrilateral parallel cousins	MoSiSo	*I piao hsiung*
	MoSiDa	*I piao mei*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
China AF1
Taiwan AD6

these two forms (plus that for the stem family form) have been cited here mainly because they are more detailed, and since they are based on actual Chinese data, they are more descriptive of the Taiwanese situation.

[6] Kulp (1925:145–148) used the term "religious-family" as the best functional name for the "ancestral-group." Hu Hsien-chin (1948:17) used the term "circle of mourning relatives" for a group which is actually identical with Kulp's religious-family.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of cousin marriage in mainland China and Taiwan see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[8] Using Cantonese and Shantung samples, Murdock (1957:664–687) reports that "cross-cousin marriage is allowed symmetrically, i.e., with either MoBrDa or FaSiDa." However, the data gathered for mainland China by Hsu (1945:84), Fried (1953:64n), and so on, and my own data from Taiwan, do not bear out Murdock's point. Again, for further discussion see my "Cousin Marriage in China."

[9] This use of *ku piao* as part of the reference terminology used by a male ego for his mother's brother's daughter or son in the general area of Hsin Hsing village may not be as common in other parts of China, including some areas of Taiwan. In other places, especially on the mainland of China, the term used for mother's brother's children may be *chiu piao;* several scholars have insisted it is the only logical kinship term for such a relationship, rather than *ku piao* (which in these other places is supposed to be a term reserved for father's sister's children). All Hsin Hsing village informants questioned on this issue insist that in this area they "have *never* heard *chiu piao* used to refer to mother's brother's children. In fact, *ku piao* is used in most of the central area of Taiwan; this is more convenient than when these cousins refer to each other by different terms." When asked for an explanation of this form in terminology, some villagers noted that "logically mother's brother's children should be *chiu piao.*" But they then immediately insisted that "there is no such term as *chiu piao* in actual practice." However, one or two of all the informants did note that sometimes a distinction is made between father's sister's children and mother's brother's children by referring to the former as *ku piao* and the latter as just *piao* (followed, of course, by the standard term used for an older or younger brother or sister).

Interestingly enough, the differences in patterns and preferences for marriage with the two kinds of cross-cousins (discussed in some detail in the remaining part of the chapter), although explained by "a feeling of greater closeness in blood with father's sister's daughter," is nevertheless not reflected in the kinship terms used for these two kinds of cousins. It is clear then, that in the Hsin Hsing area, the kinship terms used for cross-cousins have little functional value with regard to marriage pattern differentiation.

[10] Exact figures were not easily available, but on the basis of observations and interviews the figures given seem at least close enough to approximate the situation.

[11] According to the law, either a husband or wife can initiate divorce proceedings. Each district now has a semiofficial special office set up by the Kuomintang (K.M.T.) as an arbitration service for marital troubles; if necessary, it will help either or both parties to arrange a divorce settlement. The dis-

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

malice, she makes use of his cold sternness to protect her own future; she attempts to preserve her children's respect for their father, but she reserves their affection for herself.

Lim Chui-ieng is full of malice toward her husband and she uses every means available to her to both undermine her husband's authority and his children's respect for him. She allows Kim-hok to do as he pleases and even plots with him ways of getting around orders his father has issued to him. Except for frowns of disapproval and an occasional formal beating, Lim Chieng-cua has no tools left to him in training his son. Chui-ieng's scorn for the other members of the family has been conveyed to her children without hindrance. Masa, who is only five or six years older than Kim-hok, has always teased him and ordered him about, enforcing his orders with his superior strength. Had Masa's father been the head of the family rather than Kim-hok's, the younger boy might have borne his subjection more easily. Instead he developed an intense hatred for Masa that reached its peak one night when Kim-hok was nine or ten years old. Lim A-pou walked into her son's bedroom and found Kim-hok about to bury a knife in Masa's sleeping form. Even Kim-hok's mother was horrified by this incident.

Le-cu, a girl, was born when Kim-hok was about two years old. She is approaching adolescence now but without the clumsy self-consciousness of American children. She runs with the grace of a forest animal and all of her movements, intense where her mother's are simply tense, are a joy to watch. She is quick to anger but within an hour she may be joking with the person at whom she was raging. Her mother allows her a freedom of expression that plainly shocks other village mothers. Neighbors who have girls her age regret their daughters' friendship with Le-cu because they fear she will lead them into unsuitable activities. Her peers consider her "fearless." She hates school and argues constantly with her mother about quitting. Most girls her age are burdened with the care of their younger siblings, making school a welcome respite, but Le-cu manages to avoid most responsibilities. I frequently saw her playing with her younger brothers and sisters and helping them, but more because it amused her than because it was expected of her. They bring to her their broken toys and bruised knees rather than going to their impatient mother.

Thiam-hok, Lim Chieng-cua's third child and second son, is an unusual Lim. He is quiet, slight of build, and slow to anger. He is immensely popular and is included in whatever game is being played,